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REMARKS

ON

Mr. Innes's Critical Essay

ON THE

Ancient Inhabitants

OF

The Northern Parts of
Britain, *or* Scotland.



EDINBURGH:

Printed by THO. and WAL. RUDDIMANS, 1733.



REMARKS

O N

*Mr. Innes's Critical Essay on the ancient
Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of
Britain, or Scotland.*

IF we observe the Accounts that have been given of the Origine of the different Nations in the World, we may see the Authors that have transmitted them, as it were vying with one another, to raise the Settlement of their own Country to very ancient Times, and to derive themselves from a long Pedigree of illustrious Predecessors: And it is not to be thought strange, that their Readers have not been over scrupulous in examining nicely into the Truth or Probability of such Accounts, as they thought tended much to the Honour of their Country.

At present it is very commendable to see, as in many other Countries, so particularly among the Scots, a Disposition to enquire honestly into their Origine, and to renounce all Ac-

counts that appear fabulous, and may be found to be inconsistent with the Truth of History, how much soever these Accounts might flatter a Conceit of an honourable Descent.

In this Mr. *Innes* has remarkably distinguished himself; after having by indefatigable Pains-searched into every thing which he thought could give Light into the Time of the Settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and of their being first governed by *Scottish* Kings, he not regarding the Censure which he might incur from prejudicated Minds, has been bold to advance, contrary to the prevailing Opinion of his Countrymen, That their Nation came not into *Britain*, probably before the Incarnation, and that they had no King before the fifth or sixth Age after CHRIST.

The Opinion of the Author's Capacity and Integrity prompted every Body, especially the Gentlemen of his own Country to read his Essay, touching so curious and interesting a Question.

When I heard that many, who had perused his Book, declared themselves satisfied with his Performance, so that they inclined to be of his Opinion; so soon as I could find Opportunity and Leisure, I set about the reading of it, almost persuaded that I should find the like Satisfaction that others had found.

It was not without great Reluctancy and Fear of exposing my Judgment, that I ventured to say among Friends, that Mr. *Innes* appeared to me in his Essay to have suffered his honest and laudable Intention of inquiring impartially, to transport him too far; insomuch, that out of Fear of patronizing a vulgar Error, he has, without sufficient Reason determined against a received Tradition, which for any Thing he has proved to the contrary, may still be true.

My Design is not at all to enter into the Question about the Antiquity of the Settlement, and monarchical Government of the *Scots* Nation, but only to consider whether the Arguments that Mr. *Innes* makes use of to establish his Opinion, are so clear and weighty, that every unbiassed and unprejudiced

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diced Mind ought to renounce the hitherto received Opinion, as evidently false.

The Use of Letters not having been introduced into these Parts till the *Romans* had been settled there some Time, and perhaps not till Christianity had been received, it is not to be expected that the *Scots* can be able to prove their Origin and Settlement by ancient written Records, near to the Time that they pretend to have been settled there first. Tradition is the only Way by which they could convey down their History.

It must be own'd that Tradition cannot be depended on so safely as written Monuments: But yet it is not to be slighted when the Case does not admit of any other Proof, and there cannot be brought any good Authority to the contrary.

In such Cases on other Occasions Mr. *Innes* himself shews and pleads for a due Regard to Tradition. When he is speaking of the Chronicle of the *Picts*, p. 109, 110. he says thus, *We give it as an ancient Monument of History--- containing the Tradition of their Settlement in Britain, before whom there is no Memory of any known Inhabitants in the North of Britain, nor any certain Epoch of their Beginning or Settlement there. But reaching up to the dark Ages of the Depth of Antiquity, they may, for what any Man can shew to the contrary, contend with any Nation in Europe; and even as to the Number of their Seventy Kings, I do not see but it might have been preserved by Tradition without the Use of Letters.*

Why will he not make the same Allowance for the Tradition about the Settlement of the *Scots*? When he does not produce any positive Authority for a later Settlement; yea even confesses that there cannot be fixed any Dates or Epochs of their first Settlement in *Britain*. "I do not pretend, (says he) p. 185. there can be settled any fixed Dates or Epochs of the first Settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or indeed of any Northern Nation, before they had the Use

" of

" of Letters." And further he owns, That after the Use of Letters, the oldest Authors who wrote of their Settlement believed them to have been in *Britain* before the Incarnation. " *Bede*, says he p. 702. (who wrote in the eighth Age) seems to have believed that the *Scots* were settled before the Incarnation, not only in *Ireland*, but even in *Britain*. And " *Nennius* also, a *British* Writer of the ninth Age, seems to place the coming of the *Scots* to *Dalriael* (the ancient Name of their Possessions in *Britain*) about 500 Years before the Incarnation."

But though Mr. *Innes* could not produce any Author fixing the Time of the *Scots* coming first into *Britain*, and acknowledges that the Time cannot be fixed; yet he thinks one may attain to the Knowledge of it by guessing; finding out, from the State of Affairs in the World, a proper Time when some People, being sore pinched at home, might flee from their own Country, and seek a Refuge in these Northern Islands; and that there was such a State of Affairs about the Time of the Incarnation.

p. 541. He gives an Account how it might have happened. He says it is probable that the People of *Scandia* and the Northern Parts of the Continent, being pinched by the *Romans* about *Augustus's* Time, when they were at their Height of Empire, would try first to settle in the most Northern Parts of *Britain*; but being repulsed by the warlike *Caledonians*, they removed to *Ireland*.

After they had been some Time in *Ireland*, he allows them to have sent a Colony to *Scotland*.

Mr. *Innes* was under a Necessity of beating them off from the *Scottish* Coast in their first Attempt: He could not bring himself to believe that they could remain 500 Years without Kings, and he far less hoped to persuade others of it; but having confined them during some Ages in *Ireland*, he thought fit to bring them over at a Time that might suit with *Fergus* the Son of *Erc's* beginning a Monarchy there.

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This he imagined to be a probable Account of their coming in. Indeed he does not affirm positively that it was so: But if we are not satisfied with this Way, he has found an equal Probability from like Circumstances of the People in the Northern Extremities of *Spain*, in reducing of whom *Augustus* found great Difficulty, that they may have come from those Parts. And this Way he accounts for their being called *Scots*, because the Inhabitants of these Parts being descended of the *Celtes* or *Scyth*s, the *Britains* upon their first Appearance, from their Arms and their Manners conformable to these People, might give them the Name of *Scyth* or *T-scot*.

They must be very easy of Belief that are satisfied with such Accounts: May be the People of *Scandia* and other Northern Countries, being distressed by the *Romans*, about the Time of the Incarnation fled from their own Country, and tried to settle in the Northern Parts of *Britain*; and when they were repulsed by the Inhabitants of these Parts, they went to *Ireland*, and, not meeting with so vigorous Opposition there, took possession of that Country; and after some Time forced their Way to *Britain*, from which they had been beaten before: Or, if you are not pleased with this, it may be that the People in the Northern Parts of *Spain*, being about the same Time very unwilling to submit to *Augustus*, tried to settle in other Places, such as *Ireland* and the Northern Parts of *Britain*. Can any Man, I say, think this a just Account of the first Settlement of the *Scots*? Mr. Innes does not pretend to name any Author that says that about that Time it did happen so: And even admitting that some of these oppressed People had at that Time retired thither, for which however he brings no Proof; yet it would not follow from thence, that never any had attempted such Migrations before. *Livy*, Book 5. Chap. 34. says, that in the Reign of *Tarquinus Priscus*, which was about 600 Years before CHRIST, *Ambigatus* King of the *Celtes*, finding it hard to govern the Country, by reason of the great Swarms of People; that he might

might ease the Kingdom of Part of that excessive Multitude, sent out two strong Colonies under his Sisters Sons, *Bellovesus* and *Sigovesus*, the one towards the North, the other towards the South, to seek out new Habitations for themselves. Now, I think, with at least as much, if not more Reason, we may from this Authority say, that it is probable that the *Celts*, at this Time when we are told by *Livy* they were obliged to seek out a new Habitation, came to settle in these Northern Islands 600 Years before the Incarnation. This would agree better with the common Tradition about their Settlement: And Mr. *Innes* owns, that the Northern Nations had been often discharging their Country of Numbers of People, with which they were overstocked long before *Augustus's* Time.

It is not my Business at present to determine the Question about the precise Time of their passing into *Britain*; but it is plain, that the Circumstances of Affairs in the Continent, long before *Augustus's* Time, engaged the People in several Quarters to quit their own Country, and seek out new Habitations, where they might be more at large and at their Ease. Now, I would ask Mr. *Innes*, why some might not pass into *Britain* when they were pinched in those Days, as well as when they were strained in *Augustus's* Time?

I do not believe he can offer at any solid Reason why they might not; and the only Cause of denying it is, that it does not suit with his Scheme, for the Proof of which he has brought nothing but *May-be's*.

As to the Race of Kings:

WHEREAS it has been the common Opinion in *Scotland*, that the Reign of the *Scots* Kings in *Britain* begun some Ages before the Incarnation, Mr. *Innes* positively affirms, that they had no King till the fifth or sixth Age after *CHRIST*, and that *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was their first King.

p. 667. He says thus: *All the Remains without Exception,*

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ption, which we have of our ancient Histories or Records, written, extracted or abridged from them; far from authorising Fordon's new Scheme, do all unanimously contradict it, and agree that Fergus the Son of Ere was the first King of the Scots in Britain.

Again, p. 679. I dare confidently affirm, that in no genuine Writer before the Year 1291, and our Contests with Edward I. about 1300, will be found any certain Account of the first forty Kings, or of any sovereign King at all of the Scots in Britain before Fergus.

Such bold and peremptory Assertions are very apt to surprise a Reader, and easily engage his Assent, especially coming from an Author of great Industry, and who has the Reputation of a Man of Candour and Integrity.

For my own part, I could hardly doubt of his bringing convincing Evidence for the Proof of what he so confidently asserted; only I thought, that to be rationally convinced, one must examine the Justness and Force of an Author's Arguments, and not submit blindly to any Man's Authority, whatever Opinion he may have of his Learning and Honesty.

And now after reading over his Essay, having weighed his Arguments with all the Attention I could use, I cannot say that I find my Expectation answered, nor do I see that he has any ways proved his Point; and these bold Assertions of his appear to be very ill founded.

For the Satisfaction of his Readers, he has annexed to his Essay, by way of Appendix, the several Extracts of the Records from which he has taken his Proofs.

And it is plain, that several of these very Abstracts do in most express Terms affirm, that the Scots were settled, and governed by their own Kings in Britain long before the Incarnation; and these of them that speak of Fergus the Son of Ere, who reigned about 500 Years after the Incarnation, as first King, do not say in the Terms that Mr. Innes alledges, that he was the first King of the Scottish Race, or that he was

absolutely the first of the *Scots* that did reign; but only the first that reigned beyond *Drumalban*; which does not hinder but others may have reigned before him, though in smaller Territories, only he was the first in the Series of those that reigned after the Dominions were enlarged.

This will appear by considering the several Abstracts in the Appendix.

NUMB. I.

Is intituled, *De situ Albanie, &c.* Mr. *Innes* believes the Author of this Piece is not a *Scot*; therefore he does not insist on the Authority of it, lest his Countrymen should except against a Foreigner, as not a proper Evidence. But since he thinks the Passage in this Extract to be very clear as to the Point, and because it is precisely in the same Terms with what is found in the Extract Numb. 4. which he urges as not liable to that Exception, it is fit to examine it.

The Passage upon which Mr. *Innes* founds his Evidence is in the 9th Paragraph, in these Terms: *Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albanie, i. e. à monte Drumalban usque ad mare Hibernie & Inchegall, &c.* That is, *Fergus* the Son of *Eric* was the first who of the Seed of *Chonare* possessed the Kingdom of *Albany* (or reigned over *Albany*;) that is to say, from the Hill of *Brunalban* to the Sea of *Ireland* and *Inchegall*. The Kings of *Fergus's* Seed reigned in *Brunalban* or *Brunhere* till *Alpin* Son of *Eoachal*. *Kined* Son of *Alpin*, first of the *Scots* reigned sixteen Years happily in *Pictland*.

Now this Expression, *Fergus the Son of Eric was the first who of the Seed of Chonare (a) reigned from the Hill of Brunalban*, naturally implies that some of the Seed of *Chonare* had reigned before *Fergus*, but that none of his Predecessors

(a) In the authentick Genealogy of the *Scottish* Kings *Chonare* is reckoned the one and twentieth from *Fergus* Son of *Erechar*.

cessors had enjoyed so large Territories. This Sense is confirmed from the Author's Manner of writing : For it follows immediately, " The Seed of *Fergus* reigned there (i. e. from "*Brunalban* to *Inchegall*) till *Alpin*, whose Son reigned in "*Pictland*;" which in other Terms is, " *Kined* the Son of *Alpin* was the first of the *Scots* who of the Seed of *Fergus* reigned in *Pictland*." As this implies that there were of the Seed of *Fergus* that reigned before *Kined*, though *Kined* was the first that reigned in *Pictland*; so in like manner the other Expression implies, that there were of the Seed of *Chonare* who had reigned before *Fergus*, but *Fergus* was the first who reigned after the Kingdom was enlarged, and reached from *Brunalban* to *Inchegall*.

From what precedes in this Extract, the Author seems to say, that the Kingdom before *Fergus* was confined to *Argile*. He tells that *Albania* was divided by seven Brothers into seven Kingdoms; in the 7th Paragraph he says the seventh Kingdom was *Argile*. And that he meant that this was the Kingdom of the *Scots*, appears from what he says in the 8th Paragraph, that it is called *Argathelia* or *Arregathel*, as if one said *Margo Scotorum*, the March or Bounds of the *Scots*; because (as he adds) all the *Irish* and *Scots* were called *Gathels*, as descending from *Gathilglas*. Then in the same Paragraph he says the *Scots* dwelt there at first after their Return from *Ireland*. By the by, what he says of their Return from *Ireland* seems to favour *Fordon's* Scheme, as Mr. Innes calls it.

So that this Extract is far from proving, so clearly as Mr. Innes alledges, that *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was absolutely the first of the *Scottish* Race that reigned in any Part of *Britain*.

By no Rule of Speech can one from this Expression, *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first who of the Seed of *Chonare* reigned in *Albany*, i. e. from the Hill of *Drumalban*, infer that this *Fergus* was absolutely the first that reigned in *Albany*.

ny; no more than what follows in the same Paragraph, *Kined the Son of Alpin first of the Scots reigned in Pictland*, can signify that the Scots had no King before *Kined*; or, if we should say, *James the Son of Mary was the first who of the Race of Stuarts reigned in England*, one could conclude, that none of the *Stuarts* had reigned any where before *James*.

NUMB. II.

Contains only a Catalogue of the Kings of the *Picts*.

NUMB. III.

Is a short Account of twelve Kings from the uniting of the Kingdom of the *Picts*.

It begins, “ *Kined first of the Scots ruled happily that Pictland.*”

This shews our Histories distinguished the Reigns of the Kings into several Periods; and in reckoning, they called him who stood in the Beginning of the Series the *first*, but understood it only *first* of that Series. As here *Kined* is called *first* of the *Scots*, but the Meaning is only of those that ruled *Pictland*; the Authors did not apprehend, that their Readers were in any hazard of mistaking their Meaning, when they had determined the Epochs: So in other Extracts, when *Fergus the Son of Erc* is called *first*, the Meaning is only, *first* in the Series of those that reigned beyond *Brunalban*, or (as one may collect from the first Extract) of those that reigned after the *Scots* returned from *Ireland*. This does not hinder but there might be, but rather implies that there were (as has been commonly believed) still other Kings that preceded them.

NUMB. IV.

The Title of this Extract is, *Chronicles of Scots Kings for 314 Years.* No

No body will say that this Title promises a complete List of the *Scots* Kings, or that it is necessarily to be understood of the first 314 Years that they reigned, although Mr. Innes reckons that it is so: And he thinks that his Assertion about the Beginning of the *Scottish* Monarchy is clearly proved from the first Words of the Extract.

It begins, says he, with these Words, "That *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first of the *Scottish* Race; that he reigned from *Drumalban* to *Inchegall* (a)."

The Author says indeed, "That he was the first that reigned from *Drumalban*;" but not, "That he was the first of the *Scottish* Race."

The Extract begins precisely in these Terms, "*Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first who of the Seed of *Chonare* took possession of (or reigned in) the Kingdom of *Albany*, i. e. from the Hill of *Drumalban* to the Sea of *Ireland* and *Inchegall*."

I am unwilling to suspect Mr. Innes's Candour, but at least his want of Attention cannot be excused. I will appeal to himself, if there is not a great Difference between these two Expressions, "*Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first of the *Scottish* Race; he reigned from *Drumalban* to *Inchegall*," which is the Way he represents it, and the Terms of the Author, which are, "*Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first who reigned from *Drumalban* to *Inchegall*;" just as there is between these two, "*Kined* was the first of the *Scots* who reigned in *Pictland*," and, "*Kined* was the first of the *Scots* Race; he reigned in *Pictland*."

The Words in this Extract being exactly the same with those in the first, of the Situation of *Albany*, it is needless to repeat what was said there.

But it is remarkable, that as the Title of this Extract did not promise a complete List of *Scottish* Kings, but only a Chronicle:

(a) In the Copy which I read, it is precisely thus in *English*; whereas in these that I have seen since, Mr. Innes has set down the Words in *Latin*, as they are in the Extracts.

Chronicle of *Scottish* Kings for 314 Years, which is the Space of Time from *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, who reigned first from *Drumalban* to *Inchegall*, till *Kined* the Son of *Alpin*; so the Author takes notice, that from *Kined* to the first Year of *William* the 49th King from *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, it is 315 Years. And to let see that these two Periods, from *Fergus* Son of *Erc* to *Kined*, and from *Kined* to *William*, do not contain the whole Race of the *Scottish* Kings; when he has carried back the Genealogy from *William* to *Kined*, and from *Kined* to *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, he still goes on from this *Fergus* to the other *Fergus*; or, (as he is called there) *Forgo* Son of *Feradaigh*, &c. I know Mr. *Innes* will say, that this is only the Genealogy of the Family, and that none of them before *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* were Kings; but for any thing that is said to the contrary by that Extract, they may have been Kings: When they come up to *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, they do not distinguish and say that the Kings went no further, and that what precedes is only the Genealogy of a private Family, from which *Fergus* was descended.

'Tis true the Genealogy here is carried up to *Simon Britt*, but the common Accounts go no further than *Fergus* Son of *Ferchar*. *Fordon* and others that have searched into the Remains of our History give up the rest as fabulous, or at least not concerned in the Royal Line: And Mr. *Innes* confesses, (as shall be shown afterwards) that the *English*, *Irish*, and *Scottish* Writers in all Ages, *South*, *North*, and *Highlands*, do agree in the Genealogy from that *Fergus*.

But it is not much to be wondred at, that Mr. *Innes* should think that these Extracts prove that *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first King of the *Scots* Race, since they begin with him, and do not expressly make Mention that there were any that preceded him. His Zeal to establish this Point, makes him find it, even in Authors that employ whole Treatises to prove that they had Kings of their own, long before the Incarnation; accordingly he brings *Fordon* himself as his fourth

Evi-

Evidence, to prove that *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* was the first King of the *Scottish* Race; notwithstanding that he confesses that *Fordon*, throughout his second Book, endeavours to shew that the Monarchy began under *Fergus* the Son of *Ferchar*, and that between this *Fergus* and the other who reigned in the 5th or 6th Age, there intervened 45 Kings. He says indeed, p. 672. *This may appear a strange Paradox*, yet he does not doubt to make it out; in order to which, he says, in these Terms, p. 673. " *John Fordon*, in " his Searches for Memorials of our History, had no Doubt " seen these Abstracts of our ancient Chronicles I have quot- " ed above, or others equivalent, and read in them the " Words I set down, viz. That *Fergus* Son of *Erc* was the " first King of the *Scottish* Race; that he reigned from " *Drumalban* to *Inchegal*; and that he reigned only three " Years; which are the Words of the Extracts above-men- " tioned; but if they be let pass without a Commentary, " and be taken in their literal Meaning, they are enough to " subvert the whole Fabrick of *Fordon's* 45 Kings before " *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, &c.

The Substance of what follows, is; That to avoid that Inconveniency *Fordon* supposes a Subversion of the Monarchy, and a Restoration of it under *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, and that he reigned sixteen Years, and in the three last he reigned beyond *Drumalban* in the Country of the *Picts*, from the Hills to the *Scottish* Seas; but that this Gloss, after all the Pains he has taken, cannot hide the Conformity of his Expressions, with what is said in the Extracts; and that it will appear to any unprejudiced Reader, that he agrees with them.

Then he subjoins *Fordon's* Words, *Fergusius rex* [*sedecim annis*] *regnavit in Scotia* [*quorum tribus ultimis*] *ultra Dennalban, hoc est, ultra dorsum Albanie primus regum Scotici generis* [*in terra Pictorum*] *à montibus ad mare* [*Scoticum*.] What is inclosed within the Crotchets he calls
For.

Fordon's Interpolations, to adapt what he has found recorded about *Fergus* to his own System.

This is all the Proof he brings of *Fordon's* being on his Side. He says, "That even while he is endeavouring to establish an opposite Scheme, he has inadvertently blabbed out the Truth, and let such Expressions escape from him as agree with the other Extracts, and entirely overthrow his own Scheme."

Mr. *Innes* must pardon his Reader, if he does not think himself obliged to take things barely on his Word, nor without Examination, to assent to whatever he has boldly and peremptorily asserted.

It is indeed very probable that *Fordon* did see these ancient Extracts which Mr. *Innes* quotes in his Essay, which he has annexed by Way of Appendix to it: But it is very certain, that he did not read in them the Words which Mr. *Innes* sets down, viz. *That Fergus the Son of Erc was the first King of the Scottish Race; that he reigned from Drumalbyn to Incheval, and that he reigned only three Years*: And unless Mr. *Innes* has seen other Extracts than these in the Appendix, I may confidently say, that he himself did not see them; for these Words, *Fergus the Son of Erc was the first King of the Scottish Race*, are not in these Extracts, but these, *Fergus the Son of Erc was the first who of the Seed of Chonare reigned in Albany, from the Hill of Brunalban, to the Sea of Ireland and Incheval*. Neither is it said in any of these Extracts, that he reigned only three Years, but that he reigned three Years beyond *Drumalban*.

And this does not at all contradict what *Fordon* says of *Fergus* Son of *Erc's* reigning sixteen Years. The Extracts take only Notice of the Space that he reigned beyond *Brunalban*; whereas *Fordon* gives the full Number of Years of his Reign, and tells, that he reigned only the three last beyond *Dennalban* or *Brunalban*.

In like Manner we see the Extracts, Numb. 3, Numb. 4. and

and Numb. 5. say that *Kined* reigned sixteen Years; but it appears they mean only the Time that he reigned in *Pictland*; for notwithstanding of reckoning so in the Extract, Numb. 3. it is said that he reigned two Years in *Dalrieta* before he came to *Pictland*: And in the Extract, Numb. 6. in chap. 6. which contains a Chronology from *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, it is said of *Kined*, that he reigned seven Years; but that this is to be understood only of the Time that he reigned in his ancient Territories, is plain from what is said chap. 7th, "*Kined*, after he had beat out, or entirely put " to flight the *Picts*, he continued to reign twice eight " Years."

Tho' Mr. *Innes* met with no Extracts that mentioned more than three Years of *Fergus*'s Reign, *Fordon* may have met with Records from which he learned that he had reigned thirteen Years before he got into the Country of the *Picts*, and that he reigned three Years after that.

Mr. *Innes* in his Essay, p. 145. says, " It is not to be " doubted but *Fordon* or such others of our Writers that " wrote after him in the 14th or 15th Age, had before them " more ancient Histories, which might have afforded greater " Light into the *British* Affairs.

NUMB. V.

The Title of this Extract is first in general, *Names of Scottish and Pictish Kings*. Next, *A Series of Scottish Kings*; (which is only of a certain Number of Kings, and for a certain Time, as appears plainly from what follows in the Title) *An Account of 23 Kings in 327 Years, 3 Months*. And then is subjoined a List of the Kings from *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* to *Alpin*. This evidently is only the Series of the Kings that reigned after the Dominions were extended beyond *Drumalban*, till they conquered *Pictland*.

C

After

After this Series follows a new Title, *viz.* *Names of Pictish Kings*; to which is subjoined a Catalogue of the Kings of the *Picts*.

After the Catalogue of *Pictish* Kings, follows a new Series of *Scottish* Kings from a new Epoch, *viz.* from the uniting of *Pictland*: It begins from *Kined*, and is carried down to *Alexander III.*

Now the Terms of these Titles do not promise a complete List of all the *Scottish* Kings, but only of certain Epochs; and one cannot infer from hence, that there were none that preceded these that are set down here. And the Words with which this Extract begins, *viz.* *Fergus the Son of Erc first reigned in Scotland beyond Drumalban*, lead one naturally to think what *Fordon* has added to the Passage quoted above, *That none of his Predecessors had been Master so far before him.* He says indeed, as *Mr. Innes* observes, That he has not discovered whether they came to possess it by the Sword, or any other Way: But that says nothing to favour *Mr. Innes's* System.

NUMB. VI.

This Extract contains a short *Scottish* Chronicle in Latin in Rhyme. The Title of it is, *Breve chronicon Scoticum, five chronicon Rhythmicum*.

There is indeed something in this Chronicle, which at first Sight seems to favour the Opinion of *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, being the first of the *Scottish* Race that reigned in *Britain*; for in the 5th Chapter it is said, "That the *Scots*, tho' they
" were in *Britain* before the Incarnation, yet they lived a
" long Time according to the Law of Nature, without a
" King, till one called *Fergus* brought the famous Stone to
" *Argyle*, (*Argadia*) and became the first King of the *Scots*." *Mr. Innes* takes this *Fergus* to be the Son of *Erc*. Let it be taken for granted that the Author meant him, tho' *Fordon* says.

says, l. 2. c. 12. That *Fergus* the Son of *Ferchar*d brought over the fatal Stone.

It must be own'd that the Title *first* given to the Son of *Erc*, does not appear to be restrained here, or qualified, as it is in the other Extracts.

But either the Author could not mean here that *Fergus* who reigned in the fifth or sixth Age : (In some of the Extracts the other *Fergus* is likewise called Son of *Erc*;) or, if he meant him, he did not understand that he was absolutely the first that reigned in *Scotland* ; for in the 4. chap. he says, the *Scots* came into *Scotland* 443 Years before CHRIST. Now it is hardly to be supposed that he would say they lived above 900 Years according to the Law of Nature, without a King, especially if we consider, that he says in the Preface to his Chronicle, that the *Scots* reigned before the *Picts*; and every Body allows that the *Picts* reigned long before the fifth Age. And Mr. *Innes* himself owns, that this Expression ought not to be taken strictly. Speaking of the *Scots* coming in under *Eoacha Riada*, in the third Age, p. 664. he says thus, " It is at least very probable they continued and made a Figure in the fourth and fifth Ages--- and it is no ways likely that they could have subsisted without some Government of their own, --- nor without Leaders or Chiefs; --- and " I do not see why these Leaders or Chiefs of the *Scots* in " *Britain* might not be called Kings, as well as some of these " of *Ireland*, to whom that Title is given, or even as some of " these in *England* during the Heptarchy, or these of the " *Britains* or *Welsh* in *Wales*, or in the *West* of *Scotland* : " So that the Expression we will find in the Latin Chronicle " in Metre, (N. B.) That the *Scots* in *Britain* till the Time " of *Erc* lived without a King, cannot regularly be taken in " the Rigour of the Letter, as if absolutely they had not " such lesser Kings, as there were many in *Ireland*; --- but " that the *Scots* before the Time of *Erc* had no Sovereign " King over all the *Scottish* Inhabitants of *Britain*, such as " *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* and his Successors were.

Does not this Explication of Mr. Innes justify the Observation, that what is said of *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, in the Extracts quoted by him, is not to be understood as if they meant that he was absolutely the first of the *Scots* that had reigned in *Britain*, but the first that had reigned over the *Scots*, after their Dominions were enlarged, *i. e.* from *Drum-alban* to *Inchegal*.

But there is another Passage in this *Chronicon Rythmicum*, which Mr. Innes thinks an additional and irrefragable Proof of *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*'s being absolutely the first King of the *Scots*; it is the Time the *Scots* are said to have reigned together with the *Picts*, which he says is 332, or 312 Years; according to a different Reading, it being in some Copies *quater octoque*, that is, and eight four Times, *i. e.* 32; in others it is, *quatuor octoque*, that is, four and eight, *i. e.* 12. Now this Number of Years will not reach further than *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, who reigned in the fifth or sixth Age; whereas *Fergus* I. is supposed to have lived 330 Years before CHRIST; that is, near 1200 Years before the Union of the *Scots* with the *Picts*. The Words in the Extract are,

*Hi cum praedictis regnarunt tempore Pictis,
Quod trecentenos quater octoque continet annos.*

Mr. Innes, to adapt this to his Scheme, interpolates *Scoti* before *hi*, as if the Author was speaking of the Reign of all the *Scottish* Kings.

This Interpolation of Mr. Innes's, together with the ambiguous Way of the Author's expressing himself, led me, when I considered these Lines separately, to distinguish the second Line thus, *Trecentenos quater, octoque*, Three hundred four times and eight: This appeared the most natural and easy way of distinguishing; and this Way it gives the Time that Mr. Innes says is required to reach to *Fergus* I. and then the Author, who says that the *Scots* reigned before the Incarnation,

tion, would be consistent with himself; whereas if he is speaking of the whole Time of the *Scots* Reign, according to the other Way of distinguishing, he flatly contradicts himself.

Mr. *Innes*, in his Note on the 2d Verse of the 4th Chapter of this *Chronicon*, says thus p. 809. "Indeed, from the whole Context of this and the preceding Chapter, it appears by these Verses, *Bis bis centeno*, &c. that the Author was of Opinion, that the *Scots* began to inhabit in *Britain* 443 Years before the Incarnation, and that they were settled in this Island before the coming of the *Picts*, whom both this Author and all other *Scottish* Writers believe to have come into the Country at least 200 Years before CHRIST."

He says the same thing p. 703. when he is refuting *Bede's* Interpretation of these Lines, *Bis bis centeno*, &c.

And the Author of the *Chronicon*, in the Preface, says expressly he will give an Account how long the *Scottish* Kings reigned before the *Picts*, how long they reigned with them, and how long after them.

Thus it is undeniable, that this Author believed that the *Scots* were settled in *Britain* under Kingly Government before the Incarnation.

But to speak ingenuously, when I turned over to the Extract, and read it at length, I was satisfied that this Passage ought to be understood 332 or 312: But then it is to be observed, that he does not say that the *Scots*, as Mr. *Innes* has interpolated it, (meaning all the *Scots* Kings) but only *these*, reckoning up them that he had named, who had reigned from *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* to *Kined*, which is the same Series with what is contained in the 5th Extract, under the Title of, *An Account of twenty three Kings in 327 Years; that is, from Fergus Son of Erc to Alpin the Father of Kined.*

And this does not prove that this 332 or 312 Years is the whole Time that there were Kings that reigned in *Scotland* with the *Picts*, no more than the like Expression in the 4th Extract,

Extract, when having reckoned those that had reigned from *Kined* to *William*, the Author says, "From the first Year of *William* the Years of the *Scottish* Kings are 315"

Besides the Extracts in the Appendix, Mr. *Innes* brings as a further Proof an Extract written by *James Gray*. I know not how he comes to make use of this as a new Proof, since p. 671. he owns it is only a Copy of the Register of the Priory of St. *Andrew's*, which he produced before as one of his Evidences. Now a hundred Copies of the same Record are still but the same Evidence over and over again.

But it may still seem more strange, and in a manner a Paradox, that he should adduce *James Gray* as a Witness, when he is directly against him; for from him it is plain, that the Catalogue in that List does not contain a complete List of the *Scottish* Kings, but only the Series of those that had reigned after the Dominions were extended beyond *Drumalban*, or, as he calls it, *Druthin-alban*.

To prevent any body's thinking otherwise, before he sets down the Account of these Kings, he cautions his Readers to remember that the Kingdom of the *Scots* begun before the Incarnation: *Notandum quod regnum Scotiae incepit ante incarnationem.*

Mr. *Innes* says, that the Reason of that *Notandum* is, because Mr. *Gray* had seen *Fordon's* History, and was preven'd by the common Notions that the *Scots* had in his Days, of *Fergus* the Son of *Ferchard* being the first King, and Founder of the Monarchy; but that being a publick Notary, he caused to be transcribed faithfully the Account of the Succession of our Kings, such as he found it in ancient Records, however opposite it was to his own and the common Opinion of the *Scots* in these Days.

No doubt *James Gray* transcribed it faithfully; but he had not the same Notion of it as Mr. *Innes*: He thought it no ways opposite to his own and his Countrymens Opinion about the Royal Government in *Scotland*; he look'd upon it

as

as only a partial List of the *Scottish* Kings, from the Time that *Fergus* extended their Dominions, or, as *Fordon* has it, from the Restoration of the Monarchy; there is not the least Insinuation that he thought it inconsistent with his *Notandum*.

NUMB. VII.

Is an Extract of the Chronicle of *Andrew Winton* Prior of *Lochleven*.

The Argument that *Mr. Innes* brings from this Chronicle is, That *Mr. Winton*, though amongst the rest of the Names of the Predecessors of our Kings he reckons *Fergus* the Son of *Ferchar*, yet he takes no particular notice of him, nor in the least insinuates his having been the first King, or a King of the *Scots* at all; whereas when he comes down to *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, he calls him expressly the first King of the *Scots*, and also in the Review by himself of his Chronicle he persists in it; and according to the Records of *St. Andrew's*, (and he does not doubt but he had it from them) informs us that *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, first King of the *Scots*, reigned three Years from *Drumalban* to *Inchegall*.

This is no ways a fair Account of *Winton's* Chronicle. *Mr. Innes*, p. 684. endeavouring to prove his Scheme of *Fergus*, that reigned in the fifth or Beginning of the sixth Age, being the first King of the *Scots*, from a Tradition among the *Scots* of their Monarchy beginning by one *Erc* or the Son of *Erc*, tells that the Instructions given to their Commissioners at *Rome*, *A. D.* 1300, during the Debate with King *Edward* before the Pope, speak of two *Ercs*, one that reigned before the Incarnation, and another in the fourth or fifth Age. When *Winton* calls *Fergus* the Son of *Erc*, or *Erthson*, the first King (absolutely) of the *Scots*, he certainly does not mean that *Fergus* that lived in the fifth or sixth Age; for he says of him that he reigned before the *Picts*. His Words are:

Fergus

*Fergus Erthson the first Man
Was yet in our Land began,
Before that Time yet the Peythis
Our Kinrik wan fra the Scottis, &c.* p. 82r.

And in his Chronicle reviewed by himself, when he comes to speak of *Fergus* that reigned in the fifth or sixth Age, there is not so much as the Word *first*, but only that he reigned three Years from *Drumalban* to *Stanemore*.

Mr. *Innes* saw very well (though it made for his Purpose to dissemble it) that *Winton* speaks of two Kings of the Name of *Fergus*, between whose Reigns there intervened a great Distance of Time: For he observes him to be mightily embarrassed, how to reconcile the great Distance of Time from *Fergus Erthson* to *Kenaught Macalpin*, which is above 1200 Years, with the small Number of Generations that are reckoned between them, which are but ten or eleven. Mr. *Innes*, after he has represented the Intricacy of that Account, p. 626. says thus: "*Winton* himself had observed this in the first Draughts of his Chronicle, and after useless Efforts to get rid of it, he is at last forced to leave it to others, or rather to give it up, and to own that the *Picts* were already reigning in *Albany*, before *Fergus Mac-Erc* first King of the *Scots* began to reign. It seems that *Winton* was advised to omit all this in the last Review and Correction of his Chronicle, where accordingly we meet no more with it." And p. 682. he says, "At last finding it impossible to make ten or eleven Generations in those Times fill up 1200 Years, he chuses rather to bring down the Beginning of the *Scottish* Monarchy to more modern Times, and to grant that the *Picts* were already settled in *Britain* when the *Scots* came into it, and doubts no more of *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* being their first King."

Let one judge whether this is a just Account, by the Words of the Extract reviewed by himself, which are as follows.

Four

Four hundred Winters and fifty,
And twa to reckyn our even likely,
Before the Nativite, &c.

As in our Story written is,
Yan in Scotland the Scottis
Begouth to reign and to steir,
Twa hundred full and forty Zhere,
Five Winters and Monethis three
Or the Peythis in Scotland
Came in, and in it were dwelland.

And now to thai I turn my Style,
Of their Lynage to speke a while:
As in the third Book was before,
From Simon Brek till Fergus More,

Is as the Scottis lynally
Come down of Irishery;
Qubar yen I left, now to begin,
Fair Namis here I will tak in.

He yat was callet Fergus More,
In ye third Buke ze hard before,
Was Fergus Erthson, that thre There
Made him beyond ye Drum to steir,
Oure all ye Hychtis evir ilkane,
As yat by fra Drimalbane
Till Stanemore and Inchegall,
King he made him oure yaim all.

I cannot possibly imagine, how Mr. Innes can from this Extract reviewed infer, that Winton disclaims his former Opinion of the Antiquity of the Scottish Monarchy. Does he not say in the plainest Terms, that the Scots began to reign 452 Years before the Incarnation, and 245 Years three Months before the Picts? And as to Fergus Erthson, does he say that he was the first King of the Scots? So far from it, that

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where

where he is speaking of him, the Word *first* is not to be found at all; all that he says of him is, that he reigned beyond the *Drum*, over all the Country from *Drumalbane* to *Stanemore* and *Inchegall*.

Besides the Authority of these Extracts, Mr. *Innes*, p. 684. endeavours to establish his Scheme from the Instructions which the *Scots* sent to their Commissioners at *Rome A. D.* 1300, during the Debate with King *Edward* before the Pope. He says, from these Instructions it appears that the Tradition of the *Scottish* Monarchy beginning by one *Erc* was deeply rooted in the Minds of the *Scots*; 1. from their deriving from *Erc* and *Gathey* the Name of their first Settlement in *Britain*; 2. from their naming no other King of *Scots* but *Erc*, whom they bring in both the first King of the *Scots* in *Britain* in the highest Antiquity, and again as a King of the *Scots* about the End of the fourth or Beginning of the fifth Age, where our Moderns (says he) place the Restoration of the Monarchy.

This Opinion of one *Erc*'s being the Founder of the *Scottish* Monarchy, is no ways an Argument against the Antiquity of it. Mr. *Innes* owns, that the Instructions speak of two *Ercs*, one that reigned before the Incarnation, and another in the fourth or fifth Age: and I believe that those that plead for the Antiquity of the Royal Line, will not be much concerned whether the Name of the Father of the first *Fergus* was *Ferchar* or *Erc*, which is also the Name of the Father of the second *Fergus*: And to do Mr. *Innes* Justice, he does not seem to lay much Weight on this; he only says it is worth observing.

I would not have it to be thought, that I am contending for the highest Antiquity of the Settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, or of the Race of the *Scottish* Kings; I have studied to avoid entering into that Question: Nor do I indeed think that the Honour of the Nation, or of the Royal Family, is much concerned in it. Supposing they had no Kings before the

the fifth or sixth Age, they may vye with the eldest Royal Families in *Europe*. If there can be offered good Reasons, by which it may clearly appear that this is the Time about which they began to be settled, we ought no longer to struggle for an Opinion that is contrary to the Truth of History, out of a vain Notion of Honour to the Country; though on the other hand, unless there can be brought sufficient Arguments against the common Opinion, it would be ungenerous, as well as unjust, to sacrifice the Memory, or do anything in prejudice of the Honour of these Persons, that an uninterrupted Tradition has represented as the Founders and Supporters of their Country.

Foridon surely was not the first that gave rise to that Opinion of forty Kings: Mr. *Innes* owns, that while our ancient Records or Histories were yet entire, they agreed in a Genealogy of our Kings, in which these forty that preceded *Fergus* the Son of *Erc* are distinctly reckoned. While he is endeavouring to discredit *Boece's* History, he thinks it a clear Proof that the Authors upon whose Authority he reports Things, were forged, because the Names they give of their Kings differ exceedingly from those in the authentick Genealogy, in which all our Writers before that Time do agree.

Of which Agreement he says thus, p. 236. " In the twelfth Age the Author of the Genealogy in the MS. intituled *Chronica Regum Scotorum*, set down in the Appendix Numb. 4. who was a *Scottish* Writer, and *Radulphus de Diceto*, Dean of *London*, an *English* Writer, relate both of them this Genealogy as it is set down by *Foridon*."

And p. 237. " In the thirteenth Age (says he) the *Highland Seanachy* or Antiquary, mentioned by all *Foridon's* Continuator, and by *Major*, pronounced this Genealogy in the same Series of Names from *Fergus* Son of *Erc* to *Fergus* Son of *Ferchar* and upwards, at the Coronation of King *Alexander III.* A. D. 1249; and this being on so solemn an Occasion, in presence of the three Estates of

the Kingdom assembled for the Coronation, carries with it the Sense of the whole Kingdom, especially that of all Highland *Seanachies*, so well versed in, and so tenacious of the ancient Genealogies; and this while our ancient Records were as yet entire, and before they were destroyed by *Edward I.*

p. 238. "*Fordon*, after all his Travels and Searches, inserts this in his Chronicle, as being the authentick Genealogy of our Kings, and conform to what he had met with every where else."

p. 239. "Thus we see, besides the *English* Account of that Genealogy, the same as ours, and the *Irish*, which differs only in four or five Names, the *Scottish* Writers in all Ages, South, North and Highlands, the Writers of the Clergy and those of Monasteries, all agree without Exception (allowing for the Faults of Transcribers) on the same Names and Series of the Genealogy from *Fergus* the Son of *Ferchar*, called *Fergus I.* to *Fergus II.* Son of *Erc.*"

Thus Mr. *Innes* allows the Genealogy to be authentick, but he will by no means allow any preceding *Fergus* Son of *Erc* in that Genealogy to have been Kings. I have no mind to dispute it with him, though it is not easy to imagine a good Reason why there should have been such Care taken to preserve their Memory, and to rank them in the Catalogue of their Kings, and that without any Mark of Distinction, at the Coronation, if they were not Kings.

It is at least a Proof, that the Persons there named were considerable for the Power and Credit they had among the People; and no great Matter whether you call them *Leaders*, or *Chiefs*, or *little Kings*.

And unless we see better Reasons than Mr. *Innes* has offered, I think it would be rash to pronounce certainly that they were not Kings, contrary to the received Opinion.

I think it evident to a demonstration, that these Extracts upon which he founds his Opinion (and if he had had any clearer,

er, no doubt he would have produced them) are not to be understood, as if they meant that *Fergus* Son of *Erc* was absolutely the first King of the *Scots*: Is it possible that these who say expressly that the *Scottish* Monarchy begun before the Incarnation, that it was more ancient than the *Picts*, (as the *Breve Chronicon*, *Winton* and *Andrew Gray* most expressly affirm) should mean that *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, who did not live till several Ages after *CHRIST*, was the first King that had reigned in *Scotland*? Without their asserting a more ancient Monarchy in plain Terms, I believe few will deny but that Expression, *Fergus was the first that reigned beyond Drumalban*, implies that others had reigned before him, though in smaller Territories.

And this Sense of the Words is so obvious, that Mr. *Innes* dares never repeat them fairly, but always glosses them so as they may best serve his Scheme, viz. "*Fergus* Son of *Erc*" was the first King of the *Scottish* Race," or, "*Fergus* Son of *Erc* was the first King of the *Scots* in *Britain*;" which every body sees differs vastly from the Words in the Extracts.

However, it is not so much to be wondered at, that he finds it in these Extracts, when he has found it in *Fordon*. How comes it that he did not discover it in *Sir George Mackenzie's Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line*?

After all, though it may seem a strange Paradox, (let me be allowed to copy after Mr. *Innes*) I will venture to say, that Mr. *Innes* himself is satisfied that the Expressions in these Extracts to which he refers, do admit of a Sense consistent with the received Opinion of a Monarchy much more ancient than the fifth or sixth Age.

This will appear from what he has said in the 4th Chapter, containing the Conclusion of the first Section.

He writes thus p. 397. "But as to the Antiquity of the Settlement of the *Scots* in *Britain*, and an ancient Monarchy, even in the *Scottish* Line, laying aside the Additions of *Boece* and *Buchanan*, I was long of Opinion,

“that on Supposition of the Truth of the *Irish* high Anti-
 “quities, those of the *Scots* in *Britain* might be much more
 “probably sustained on the old System of our History, such
 “as *Fordon* and his Continuator have left it; the few Par-
 “ticulars they contain of the *Scots* from *Fergus* I. till *Fer-*
 “*gus* II. laying aside some Things visibly fabulous, appear-
 “ing to me less opposite to the ancient *Roman* and *British*
 “Histories.”

p. 398. “Being unwilling wholly to abandon a System of
 “our Antiquities, which had been generally received among
 “the *Scots* during the three last Centuries and upwards, I
 “was resolved to leave nothing untried that was consistent
 “with Truth, and might gratify my Countrymen attached
 “to the Antiquity of the Settlement and Monarchy in the
 “*Scottish* Line.”

“In order to this, my first Application was, to support
 “the System of our Antiquities much on the same Footing
 “on which *Fordon*’s Followers and Continuator had left
 “them, before *Boece*’s History appeared, by endeavouring,
 “&c.”

Towards the End of the same Page he says, “I had entred
 “into a full Discussion of all the Passages of the *Roman* and
 “*British* Writers, from the first Time that the Name of *Scots*
 “is made mention of by ancient Authors; and had shewn,
 “at least with Probability, against *Cambden*, *Usher* and o-
 “thers, that all these Passages might be reconciled with *For-*
 “*don*’s System of our Antiquities, (admitting some Corre-
 “ctions of it) and in particular with the Settlement of the
 “*Scots* before the *Romans* first Entry into this Island, with
 “their being forced out of *Britain* by the *Romans* after the
 “middle of the fourth Century, with their Restoration in
 “the Beginning of the fifth, &c.”

Though *Mr. Innes* is unwilling to speak out as to the Ex-
 “tracts of the Records of our ancient Histories, yet is it not
 “plain, that while he inclined to come into *Fordon*’s Scheme,
 he

He saw how the Passages in these Records might be easily reconciled with the received Opinion of an ancient Monarchy, viz. by understanding what is said of *Fergus* Son of *Erc*, not as if the Meaning was, that he was absolutely the first King of the *Scots* in *Britain*, but only the first after the Restoration of the Monarchy?

And one will be apt to think, that the circumstantiated Account he gives p. 744, 745. of the Way that *Fordon* seems to have argued or reasoned with himself, in order to reconcile his System of the forty five Kings with the Remains of the ancient Chronicles of the *Scots*, is the Way that he himself has reasoned while he was applying himself to support the System of our Antiquities.

When I consider Mr. *Innes's* wavering and uncertain Way of writing in his Essay, it brings to my mind *Horace's* Carpenter (a), doubting some Time with himself what Use he should make of the Trunk of a Fig-tree he had by him; whether he should make it into a Bench for People to sit upon, or into a God for them to worship, for he thought it might serve for either; at last he resolved to make it into a God. I cannot forbear fancying, and I think abundance of Passages in his Essay will justify it, that Mr. *Innes* has doubted a long Time to what Use he should put the Materials he had collected; whether he should employ them to prove the Antiquity of the Settlement and Monarchy of the *Scots*, or, on the contrary, to overthrow it; and that it was not without some Struggle that he had chosen the last.

Indeed after he had determined himself, he has urged his Opinion (to use Bishop *Atterbury's* Words (b) on another Occasion) with so much Warmth and Gravity, and such an Air of Assurance, that even a wary Reader would be apt to think it well founded. But after weighing the Strength of his

(a) 1 Serm. 8. 1 & seqq.

(b) In the Preface to his Discourses.

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his Arguments, I may pronounce, as the Bishop does of his Adversary's Censure, that never was an Assertion (for ought he has said to support it) more rashly vain, or more entirely destitute of all Colour of Truth.

FINIS

